

# The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. L No. 31.

CHICAGO, SEPTEMBER 28, 1907.

50c. a Year.

## Report to Convention by Fred W. Heslewood, Member Executive Board

Chicago, Sept. 16, 1907.

To the officers and delegates of the third annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World—Fellow Workers:

Owing to the fact that for the past year I have been permanently employed as an organizer, and having also had the honor of serving you as a member of the General Executive Board, I take this opportunity of submitting to you in convention assembled, a rough outline of conditions as they exist in the northwest, together with a few recommendations which I believe will aid our organization in more effectively carrying on its work of organization for the ensuing year.

A fight for our very existence has been waged unceasingly for the past ten months. We have had enemies who have tried to destroy our organization by the use of the law, and with all the battles we have fought, we are again here in convention assembled, full of determination to carry on the battle until the last vestige of labor fakers is abolished, and the workers are united on the political and industrial field.

The seed of revolutionary Industrial Unionism has now taken such a firm root that the combined power of the capitalist class and labor fakers, cannot destroy our organization. The result of the last year's work should tend to give us great courage to fight harder than ever. The most optimistic members of our organization are free to admit that the results of the last year's work have exceeded their most sanguine expectations.

On the fourth of last October we were without an office and without literature, without stamps, without a typewriter, and in fact all we possessed consisted of faith in our members; that they would never forsake their organization because of the disgraceful work of a handful of scoundrels and reactionaries. Our faith was properly grounded, as results have since shown. Every effort was made by the editor of the *Miners' Magazine* immediately after the adjournment of the last convention of the I. W. W., and even before the convention had adjourned, to misrepresent the true condition of affairs as they existed at the headquarters of the I. W. W. In this he was aided by a smart pair of tricksters in the persons of Mahoney and Kirwan. The miners were given a referendum on what Mahoney termed "the illegality of the second annual convention," with words put into the mouths of the miners by a tricky referendum, and with their Magazine packed with clippings from scab socialist papers which had shown their enmity to the Industrial Workers of the World.

It is a wonder that the men were deceived into carrying a majority vote in favor of the so-called Sherman faction and for the illegality of the second annual convention? However the Sherman-Mahoney faction could come themselves with the fact that wherever a representative of our organization visited a W. F. of M. local, the local either did not vote at all or else voted almost unanimously in favor of the illegality of the second annual convention. The most notable victories for us in this so-called referendum were, these, the great vote cast in Phoenix of 484 to 13 in favor of the convention. John Rorick was a member of this local and had been financial secretary for a number of years before taking up the work of the I. W. W. The other victory of some note was the vote in Rosland, B. C., the home of P. R. McDonald. The vote there of 72 to 23, against the convention being illegal, was the means of saving from a prominent place in the W. F. of M. one of the smoothest fakers in the labor movement. Since this referendum vote has been taken it may please you to know that the check of the other scab agent who represented one-fourth of the membership at the convention of the I. W. W. has dropped 90 per cent in the city of Butte. The time has arrived when neither of these men can do any more harm to our cause.

This must be very comforting to O'Neill, who has to these men up as such great lovers of constitutions and liberty. It is a sad story well for the Industrial Workers of the World that the trouble centers in the northwest. It is a pity that we have at least discovered who are the true Industrial Workers and those who are not. It is necessary to put a soldier into battle to find his true worth. Most of our men have made great sacrifices in the past year, owing to their determination to oust from the organization a lot of men who wished to fasten themselves on the I. W. W. for their own personal aggrandizement. There is still a large gang of scab work in the West, especially in the state of Montana, which until recently was the stronghold of the Sherman faction. The best we have succeeded in doing in that state, was to have all the I. W. W. locals take a neutral position except the Workmen's Local at Anaconda, which is loyal to our organization and has greatly assisted in the past few months by having large quantities of

supplies and due stamps. The locals at Gray's Harbor are in a healthy condition and could with little work be built up very strong. They have the right men there to keep the locals going if they could have a speaker occasionally to assist them in getting new members. It will be unnecessary for me to go into detail as to the strength, merits and demerits of the several locals in the northwest, as no doubt there are delegates here who will inform you as to the true conditions which exist at the different camps. It will no doubt interest you to know that a great revival is now going on in the city of Butte for Industrial revolutionary unionism, especially among the miners. The Miners Local No. 1, composed of about 8000 members, have interested themselves to a great extent with the affairs of the I. W. W. and the cause of the trouble at our second annual convention. The result of these men's investigation led over half their delegation at the last Denver convention to vote for the re-affiliation of the W. F. of M. with our organization. This great change for our cause in Butte is the outcome of the agitation by a few I. W. W. men working in the mines at that place.

THE W. F. OF M. CONVENTION. The last convention of the W. F. of M. which was held in Denver, beginning on June 10th and adjourning on the 3rd of July, was the most notable convention ever held on the American continent. Notable for being the longest convention ever held in America, and for the keen interest shown by the delegates in the I. W. W. controversy, and especially notable for being the largest convention ever held by the W. F. of M. So that you may get acquainted with a few of the smooth tactics, commonly used by slippery labor fakers, it may well recall some of the events which transpired at the convention when the executive board of the W. F. of M. had at their December meeting decided not to pay over equal tax to either faction of the I. W. W. until after the June convention, and in view of the fact that Sherman had promised to pay up all his debts in the city of Chicago immediately after the Miners' convention, on the grounds that Kirwan had promised him the money, which would have meant many thousands of dollars, and further in view of the fact that Mahoney and Kirwan had already given \$5000 to Sherman to assist in paying his sluggers.

It is needless to say that those of us who were at the miners' convention to defend our position in the I. W. W. fully expected the Mahoney crowd to defend their own actions and that of Sherman, and also to put some fight for the payment of the per capita tax on the W. F. of M. until after the June convention, and in view of the fact that Sherman had promised to pay up all his debts in the city of Chicago immediately after the Miners' convention, on the grounds that Kirwan had promised him the money, which would have meant many thousands of dollars, and further in view of the fact that Mahoney and Kirwan had already given \$5000 to Sherman to assist in paying his sluggers.

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The new move on the part of Mahoney, Kirwan and O'Neill to pay the debts of Sherman is to start a new I. W. W. and invite the two factions to participate in a proposed fake convention at Butte, Sept. 1907. Of course Sherman will not take with his faction and we will not. His debts will have to be paid by the new organization, we have one that borrows to pay. Another bunch of fakers will fasten themselves on the backs of the workers. We don't want any more of them, as it was very expensive getting rid of the ones we had. The W. F. of M. will be put to another great expense in sending dele-

gates to this convention and the best they can do is to start a dual organization to ours. It will be your duty as true Industrial Unionists to fight this fake arrangement. In this you will be assisted by the best fighters in the W. F. of M. None of the men who are about to start this new organization has any use for our I. W. W. O'Neill has insulted us by a lot of cheap billings-gate that would do credit to a tub man on the bowery. Kirwan declared in the W. F. of M. convention that we were scabs and even went so far as to inform the capitalist press reporters of this infamous lie at the Denver convention. Mahoney has shown his enmity to the I. W. W. and has been lauded for it by the lowest, dirtiest capitalist press in America. Grant Hamilton, the most notable scab organizer of America, has not received more praise from the capitalist press than has Mahoney for his trade against our organization. The representatives from the Illinois Industrial Mine Workers, who are to take a hand in the formation of the Industrial Union, have in letters to O'Neill, called us the Industrial "wonder workers." So let us be guided by these few points and keep our organization clean. It certainly will not be clean if we attempt to mix up with the aggregation which is at the rider of this new organization.

There are some honest men who will be representing the W. F. of M. at the convention on Oct. 1st. The reason they will be in this city, is because they have not yet seen through the trap which has been laid by Mahoney, Kirwan, O'Neill, Sherman, et al. Because the convention of the W. F. of M. has declared that the new organization will not be responsible for any of the debts incurred by either of the factions, does not alter the fact that the laws of the state will see that the debts incurred by Sherman will have to be paid by the joint organization; if it is ever launched. This proposed convention was received with poor grace by the delegates at Denver. Fourteen delegates, including alternates, were secured, but the organization had resolved itself into a farce only nine delegates could be secured. Over 30 delegates declined, many of them taking their nomination as an insult, claiming that some of the delegates of the I. W. W. and they desired no other. Many precedents were established at this convention that can do anything but reflect credit on the men who are responsible for them. No officer of the W. F. of M. has ever known to cast more than one vote here or there. The convention of the W. F. of M. has declared that the new organization will not be responsible for any of the debts incurred by either of the factions, does not alter the fact that the laws of the state will see that the debts incurred by Sherman will have to be paid by the joint organization; if it is ever launched.

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the W. F. of M. for the past year. Much good legislation was passed at the miners' convention, such as a new preamble, abolishment of all contracts with the masters, any five locals to have the power to call for a referendum vote, a stenographic report, and many other measures that will assist in keeping the W. F. of M. with its face always to the foe, regardless of a few men who think more of their \$500 a day than they do of their organization. These revolutionary measures were defended with vote and voice by all delegates who were loyal to the I. W. W. Delegate McMullen, true to his principles, voted and worked against all of them.

THE PORTLAND STRIKE. One of the greatest strikes which has ever occurred in America was the Portland strike of saw mill workers, which took place on the 1st of last March and continued for 40 days. Our organization had much to contend with; over 3000 men were involved and the most of them joined the I. W. W. after they had struck. It was necessary to do a lot of educational work so that they would stand firm. Speeches were made twice daily while the strike lasted, and although the men did not win all their demands, yet they succeeded in forcing up the wages in the saw mills of Portland and in many other places on the coast. The A. F. of L. came to the aid of the capitalist class in this strike, and many of the trust situations which had formerly been held by the I. W. W. were taken by the members of the A. F. of L. The official press of the American Federation denounced us from the start of the strike as anarchists and irresponsible. To prove their assertions they printed a letter which had been written by Sherman's button agent (Kirwan) to some labor fakir at San Francisco, stating that the W. F. of M. did not recognize us as the I. W. W. These letters were used by the A. F. of L. as a pretext for nothing but victory. As we were unable to feed such a large army of men on strike, we started an employment office and secured work for all the men. After all our strikers had secured employment at better wages than they had ever had in the Portland saw mills the strike was declared off and the saw mill companies were obliged to pay higher wages to secure enough men to operate their plants. Although the men were scattered in all directions the local tactics of the A. F. of L. with the assistance of Kirwan, wherever they are they will be found true Industrial Unionists. Only the west coast locals of the I. W. W. were called out for funds to carry on the strike. All the local responses were graciously as did also many of the locals of the W. F. of M. The handling of the funds of this strike brought forth considerable criticism from John M. O'Neill at the last convention of the W. F. of M. O'Neill stated that the members of the I. W. W. had given on an average 7 cents each to this strike and in an insulting manner attempted to compare the 7 cents as equal to the amount of revolutionary spirit in our members. He also stated that Hesselwood suggested that the money which was left over after the strike was declared off, he spent in the northwest, because Hesselwood was in the northwest organizing, inferring that I was trying to get the money. As the total membership were not called upon for funds, and as Hesselwood did not stay in the northwest only a few days after the strike was over in Portland, we can only think that O'Neill measures other people's cloth by his own yard. The A. F. of L. has aver-

Some difficulty was found in getting a proper distribution of votes among the representatives of the different organizations from America. After a lot of parleying and discussion as to the merits of the I. W. W. and the Sherman faction, your delegate was allotted 1 1/2 votes, while the Sherman delegate was accorded 1/2 a vote, he not being able to show that Sherman had an organization in existence. He claimed he was elected at their annual convention, which was held in Chicago on the 4th of July. It later transpired that he was visiting his relations in Germany and got \$20 from the Shermites to attend the congress. He voted against our resolution and in favor of a "boring from within" one that was supported also by defectors of that very revolutionary organization, the American Federation of Labor. He made a motion while attending the meeting of the American delegation that he "should not have to qualify his credentials with any evidence as to the strength of his organization," and his last request was that he be excused from serving as one of the four delegates representing America on the commission for the discussion of "The Relations Between Trade Unions and Political Parties." Just why he accepted the \$20 from the sluggers is a mystery. It certainly was not for the purpose of defending Industrial Unionism.

As I consider the work of the commission on the relations between trade unions and political parties, the most important of all the work of the different commissions, I will give it more attention than the others—first, because it is really the only commission which is of interest to our membership; and secondly, because your delegate served on it. The four delegates to represent America on this commission were: Simmons, Lee, De Leon and Hesselwood. De Leon and myself moved and spoke on the following resolution:

"Whereas, the integrally organized industrial organization of the working class is the present embryo of the Commonwealth of Labor, or Socialist Republic, and forerunners the organic form of that commonwealth, as well as its administrative powers; "Whereas, Craft unionism, wherever capitalism has reached, untrammelled by the state, has approved itself as the plutocratic Wall Street Journal of New York hailed it, in hailing the Gompers-Mitchell American Federation of Labor, the bulwark of capitalist society," that bred the officialdom which the American capitalist Mark Hanna designated as "labor-lieutenants"; therefore be it Resolved (1), That "neutrality" towards trade unions, on the part of a political party of socialism is equivalent to "neutrality" towards the machinations of the capitalist class; (2) That the bona fide or revolutionary socialist movement needs the political as well as the economic organization of labor, the former for propaganda and warfare upon the civilized world of the ballot; the latter, the only conceivable physical force with which to back up the ballot, without which force all ballot is moonshine, and which force is essential for the ultimate lockout of the capitalist class; (3) That without the political organization, the labor or socialist movement could not reach its triumph; without the economic, the day of its political triumph would be the day of its defeat. Without the economic organization, the movement would attract and breed the agent provocateur, who would assassinate the movement.

"Industrial Workers of the World, Socialist Labor Party (America)." This resolution was defended by delegates from Switzerland, Italy, France, the S. F. of America and myself. Under this resolution the Industrial Workers of the World was advocated as the only solution for the workers of America, and in fact every other country. In showing the folly of craft and trade unionism in America, it was necessary to enlighten the delegates somewhat on how the capitalists' contract with the American Federation of Labor in America; how the workers were forced to scab on each other; how the craft unions denied the class struggle and asked for nothing better than a fair day's pay for a fair day's work; how the A. F. of L. was in the complete control of the labor fakers; and how the labor fakers and labor skinner met together at the Civic Federation for the purpose of creating peace between the master and the slave.

Simmons of Chicago denied these assertions and claimed, on the contrary, because "they had recently raised large sums of money for the purpose of defending Mover, Haywood and Pettibone"; and Simmons further went on and informed the delegates that the business of the Industrial Workers of the World was to divide the workers and not unite them; that the socialist party of America entitled to intervene.

According to the new regulations of congress each national section will have decided whether organizations of the country in question shall be admitted. If for instance a French organization not belonging to the socialist party (the French section of the International) wishes to send delegates, it must first of all apply to the party in question. Such organizations as have been refused by the national section shall be allowed to appeal to the International Bureau. The national sections have themselves to distribute the votes accorded them. In case of serious difficulties the International Bureau shall be entitled to intervene.

## Delegate to Stuttgart Congress Submits His Report to the Convention

Chicago, Sept. 20, 1907.

To the Members of the Industrial Workers of the World:

Fellow Workers: As your representative to the International Socialist Congress, held at Stuttgart, Germany, from August 18 to 24, I desire to submit the following report, so that you may become acquainted somewhat with the work of the congress and also of my actions as your representative.

You may readily understand that a congress of this description, with over 1,000 delegates, representing all countries of what is known as the civilized world, with all the different languages to be interpreted, with only six days to do the business in, would be a very unwieldy affair. If every delegate was given a chance to air his or her opinion on the floor of the congress. And it will have to be admitted that among socialists there is a wide diversity of opinion as to the proper method of attaining the Co-operative Commonwealth, where the worker will enjoy the full social value of the product of his toil.

To simplify matters as much as possible, the International Bureau, in advance of the convening of the congress, had set up a committee of five delegates, a resolution committee; they having the resolutions condensed in simple form and ready for the congress.

The principal propositions which were discussed by the congress were divided into five sections, as follows:

Section 1. Militarism and international conflicts.

Section 2. Relations between the political parties and trade unions.

Section 3. The colonial question.

Section 4. The internationalization of the workers.

Section 5. Women's franchise.

The work of these five sections are taken up by commissions, each commission being composed of four delegates selected from each country. The conclusions of the different commissions are then submitted to the full congress, to be voted on. In many instances there are majority and minority reports as the result of the work of the commissions.

Besides these five principal propositions, the International Bureau submitted to the congress the following proposals to be voted on:

1. To endorse en bloc the resolutions which have been passed by the International Bureau since the Amsterdam Congress.

2. To adopt the Standing Orders of the congress, the statute of the International Bureau, and of the interparliamentary committee, also en bloc.

3. To decline an amendment of the English Independent Labor party asking to admit to the congress such bona fide trade union organizations as do not endorse the principle of class war.

4. To decline a proposal of the Italian socialists of Switzerland, concerning the introduction of a uniform ticket of membership for all the socialist parties of the world.

5. To pass on to the interparliamentary committee the proposal of the English Social Democratic Federation, demanding that in all parliaments the socialist representatives shall at one and the same time move a resolution demanding that the maximum working hours be fixed by law.

6. To decline as premature the proposals of the South African and the French sections regarding the utility and the selection of an international artificial language.

7. To decline the proposal of the social-democratic women of Germany, who ask the congress to discuss the democratic extension of the franchise, but to accept the proposal of the social-democratic women of Austria, who ask the congress to discuss women's suffrage.

The International Bureau further proposed to the congress to regulate the voting power of the different national sections in the following way: Germany, Austria-Bohemia, France, Great Britain and Russia: 20 votes each. Italy: 15 votes. United States: 14 votes. Belgium: 12 votes. Denmark, Poland and Switzerland: 10 votes each. Norway, Finland, Holland and Sweden: 8 votes each. Spain, Hungary and Norway: 6 votes each. South Africa, Argentina, Australia, Bulgaria, Japan, Roumania and Serbia: 4 votes each. Luxembourg: 2 votes.

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## Congratulations from Arizona Miners

A few minutes after the convention adjourned due to on Tuesday, the following letter was received from Jerome Miners' Union No. 101, of Jerome, Arizona:

Jerome, Arizona, Sept. 18, 1907. "To the Third Annual Convention, Industrial Workers of the World, Fellow Workers:— "We, the members of Jerome Miners' Union, extend our congratulations on the occasion of your convention and assure you of our hearty co-operation so long as you continue to be as true to the principles of the preamble as you have been since the inception of the organization.

"We hope that you will never permit yourselves to be influenced by intellects or fakers, or the superior numerical or financial strength of those whose interests are identical with the capitalist class. "We ask that you legislate now as you have fought in the past, ever with the object of promoting the best interests of the workers. "Again assuring you of our co-operation and support, we are, "Yours for Industrial Unionism. "JOHNE MINERS' UNION. "JOHN OPMAN, Pres. "ALBERT RYAN, Sec.-Treas."

## Voluntary Contributions

Previous's acknowledged	\$413.20
J. P. Kienle, Minneapolis	1.00
J. Desmond, Pittsburgh	1.00
A. Bousche, Cincinnati	1.50
E. Bessanow, New York	2.00
A. C. Wirtz, Barrow, Cal.	4.00
M. Grunstein, McKeesport, Pa.	4.38
L. U. No. 155, Phoenix, B. C.	10.00
L. U. No. 229, Canton, O.	1.00
F. P. Schwenck, W. S. and D. B.	5.00
Pr. No. 4, Brooklyn, N. Y.	9.25
Selson L. U. No. 525	9.00
Christopher L. U. No. 55	9.00
A. Von Behren, W. S. and D. B.	3.00
Br. No. 177, Springfield, Ill.	2.00
K. Teschka, New York, N. Y.	2.00
L. Wesberg, Spokane, Wash.	.50
L. L. Barnet, Spokane, Wash.	1.00
W. Edgar, Tonopah, Nev.	1.00
	\$456.83

## HUSTLE IN THE SUBS

Now is the time to hustle in new subscriptions for "The Bulletin." The list must be doubled this fall and winter, and we feel sure that every Industrial Unionist will do his and her level best to accomplish that result.

(Continued on second page)

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Chicago, September 28, 1907.

## Notes on Third Annual Convention

The Third Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World adjourned at 12 o'clock, noon, September 24th, having been in session seven and a half days. During the entire time from 9 a. m. to 12, and from 2 p. m. to 6, except the forenoon of Wednesday, the delegates were continuously occupied with the practical work of the organization. The omission of a morning session on Wednesday was due to a desire to give the various committees opportunity to work on the matters assigned to them.

The new plan adopted for facilitating the organization of the convention, by which the General Executive Board submitted a list of accredited delegates against whom no contest was filed worked admirably. Within fifteen minutes after the call to order the temporary organization was effected with Fellow Worker Rudolph Katz, of New Jersey, in the chair. Immediately thereupon the committees on credentials and order of business were chosen, and the convention went on the solid work for which it had been called. From that time forward until the final adjournment no time was lost, and at all times the strict attention given by the delegates to their duties was immensely creditable to the organization.

The debates throughout were interesting and of practical value in building up the economic structure of a true working class organization. There was manifested on all subjects a clearer understanding of the fundamental principles upon which Industrial Unionism rests than had prevailed in previous conventions.

Among the most important subjects that came up and elicited general discussion were the coal miners' constitution, the Illinois miners' contract, the Bridgeport strike, organization committee's report, ways and means, literature, officers' reports, persecution of Asiatics, the Goldfield outrage, the International Congress.

Resolutions adopted by the convention and ordered printed in The Bulletin follow:

### THE GOLDFIELD OUTRAGE.

"Whereas, Fellow Worker Preston of Goldfield, Nev., in the discharge of his duty as picket, being attacked by the owner of a restaurant with drawn revolver, shot and killed him;

"Whereas, Though it was a clear case of self-defense, Fellow Worker Preston was arrested on the charge of murder and Fellow Worker Smith, another organizer, was arrested on the charge of being an accessory before the fact, and both sent to prison by a packed jury;

"Whereas, Vincent St. John, Walter Campbell, Ben Donnelly, L. D. Jardine, A. E. Johnson, Harry Rodgers, Jerry Sexton and R. Elmer Vice, are being held for trial on a charge of conspiracy in connection with this case; and

"Whereas, The Citizen Alliance and Mine Owners' Association have been backed up by scab herder, Grant Hamilton and his A. F. of L. scabs, therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Third Annual Convention of the I. W. W., assembled this, the 21st day of September, demand that Preston and Smith be given a new and fair trial and the freedom to which they are entitled; and be it further

"Resolved, That the others be speedily tried and released; and further be it

"Resolved, That we condemn said Grant Hamilton and his organized scabs as traitors who would sell the lives of their fellow slaves for their master's smile; and be it further

"Resolved, That these resolutions be published in The Industrial Union Bulletin, and sent to the labor press."

### PERSECUTION OF ASIATICS.

"Whereas, In the past year several riots have occurred on the Pacific Coast directed against Asiatics on the allegation that they are cheap labor;

"Whereas, These Asiatics have, whenever an attempt has been made, shown their ability to organize, better their conditions and to stand true to their class;

"Whereas, The interests of the working class are the same no matter what their race, creed and color, and are diametrically opposed to the interests of the capitalist class; and

"Whereas, These outbreaks but serve to further divide the workers where they should be united, and therefore serve the interest of the master class, therefore be it

"Resolved, That the action of these rioters is really endorsement of the persecution that each race of immigrants has met in their turn, which has helped the master class to keep us in slavery; and further be it

"Resolved, That we condemn the A. F. of L. as well as other so-called labor organizations who have in this respect aided the masters; and further be it

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the labor press and published in The Industrial Worker Bulletin."

The convention afforded a striking contrast to that of last year, which lasted for sixteen days. Most of the time in the second convention was consumed in the fight against the reactionaries who subsequently seized and held, with the aid of paid thugs, the office and property of the organization. In the convention just held there was gathered nearly sixty delegates with practically one aim in view, the adoption of the best methods to promote the growth of the organization, the construction of the industrial form of the future society toward which the I. W. W. is set.

The stenographic report of the proceedings has been printed in newspaper form one column less in size than the Bulletin. It consists of eight issues, running from four to eight pages each, and is the only form in which, for the present, the proceedings will be printed.

A full set of the daily reports will be mailed to any address on receipt of general headquarters of 80 cents. The report should be in the hands of every local union of the I. W. W.

The General Executive Board chosen by the convention consists of the following members:

F. W. Heslewood.  
T. J. Cole.  
Rudolph Katz.  
B. H. Williams.  
Wm. Yates.

The following nominations were made unanimously:

General Secretary-Treasurer—Wm. E. Trautmann.

General Organizer and Assistant Secretary—Vincent St. John.

Editor—A. S. Edwards.

The Third Annual Convention of the I. W. W. shatters into fragments the claims made by the reactionaries and billingsgate graduates who wallow hopelessly in the mire of their own duplicity and treason to revolutionary unionism.

Now for the education and organization of the masses, and the beginning of the year just beginning more remarkable than the one now closed.

## "Poor" and "Simple" Daily Socialist

The Chicago Daily Socialist, in its idiotic attempt to "report" by belittling the convention of the I. W. W. day by day, has made a sorry figure of itself. It has earned the contempt of honest workmen and socialists everywhere; it has proven itself fully deserving of the oilium with which decent people pass it up, and of the oblivion which is perpetually engulfing it.

It began, several days before the convention met, with an unbiased news item announcing the coming convention "of the I. W. W." That notice, it was quickly seen, being free from slurs and insults, making no reference to "factories," but unconvincingly announcing the I. W. W. convention, was a denial of the faked reports of a fake convention alleged to have been held July 4th. The notice, we have since learned, was printed in response to a demand upon the "manager" of the paper that the I. W. W. convention be given a square deal. This demand was made by a member of the socialist party and a supporter of the paper. After the first announcement referred to, however, the "reports" were the clamorous travesties on attempts commonly made by capitalist newspapers in dealing with working class activities. Indeed, most of the daily newspapers of Chicago, particularly the "Evening Post," while indulging the propensity to "raise a laugh," did convey to their readers some idea of the serious working class problems the convention dealt with.

Not so the Chicago Socialist. Printing in boldface type the declaration that "it is the only daily that dares to tell the truth," it is, in fact, the only daily that failed to do so. Claiming that "it is the only daily that dares to stand for the interest of the working class," the fact is that it stands for a section only of the working class, and that it does for revenue only.

The report of the convention proceedings issued daily is substantially correct. Here and there are some obvious errors, due to the failure of stenographers to catch a connecting or qualifying word, or to proof reading which was necessarily hurried. The convention decided that for the present the report should stand as it is, and if after a few months the general executive board should find a demand for it in book form and finances justify, the outline, it should be corrected and re-set. In the meantime delegates are all requested to file their corrections at general headquarters.

Algermon Lee has enrolled himself in the S. B. (slenderbund) of the Socialist party. In the New Yorker "Worker" he says Pick had a vote and a half at Stuttgart and Heslewood half a vote. He says also that Heslewood is a member of the S. L. P. In both cases he says what is false and the S. B. gains another "distinguished" member.

A more earnest set of men never met to consider working class interests, whether in a political or economic gathering, than those attending the third annual convention. Among working class interests were never more intelligently discussed from the standpoint of the class struggle.

The discussion of the Preamble brought out many points of interest and practical value to Industrial Unionists. Send for a file of the eight daily reports, containing the discussion in full. Price, prepaid, 80 cents.

The fakers and billingsgate graduates will not start the report this year that the convention was controlled by the S. L. P. They are being forced to see that the I. W. W. is controlled by Industrial Unionists.

## Report of Delegates to Stuttgart

It did not believe in disuniting the working class. On these grounds he was opposed to the Industrial Workers of the World. That our membership may know who Simons is, it may not be amiss to state here that he is the editor of the Chicago Socialist; that he signed the manifesto and call for the first convention of the I. W. W., and further, that he has written and spoken for the I. W. W. since its organization, which is proof enough that he is a smooth liar and hypocrite. Like other working class pilots, it took time to find him out. That our membership may not think I am exaggerating as to this gentleman, I will here submit an extract taken from the Official Bulletin of the Congress, in Simons' speech:

"Simons of Chicago denied that corruption had invaded the whole body of trade unionism in the States, though some of its leaders had been corrupted. That it constituted a menace to capitalism was evidenced by the fact that the masters' association had raised recently a sum of \$100,000 to combat Unionism. He thought we had something to learn from the rank and file of the workers as well as something to ask from them. The workers had become revolutionary in America, not because theorists had indicated to them the class struggle, but because the stern logic of facts had brought them face to face with its existence. The socialist party of America did not condone the offenses of corrupt labor leaders, but it opposed itself to the attempt to create new unions, such as the I. W. W., in rivalry with older organizations, and thus creating division instead of unionism. They did not attempt to capture the trade unions, for socialism and trade unionism are two battalions of one army and it would be ridiculous for one to endeavor to capture the other."

As your delegate I do not intend to air my views on political parties in this report, but I trust that you will do some hard thinking when it comes to having people who claim to be revolutionists go thousands of miles from America to the United States, and then, in the American Federation of Labor, against the Industrial Workers of the World. The following is the majority resolution which was submitted to the congress and the one which carried:

"We emphasize the proletarian struggle, completely free from the bounds of intellectual, political and economic serfdom, the political and the economic struggle are alike necessary. If the activity of the socialist party is exercised more particularly in the domain of the political struggle of the proletariat, that of the unions displays itself in the domain of the economic struggle of the workers. The unions and the party have therefore an equally important task to perform in the struggle for proletarian emancipation. Each of the two organizations has its distinct domain, defined by its nature, and within whose borders it should enjoy independent control of its line of action. But there is an ever-widening domain in the proletarian struggle of the class, in which the two organizations, by concerted action and cooperation between the party and the trade unions.

As a consequence the proletarian struggle will be carried on more successfully, and more important results will be the relations between the unions and the party are strengthened without infringing the necessary unity of the trade unions.

The congress declares that it is the interest of the working class in every country that the two organizations should be established between the unions and the party.

"It is the duty of the party and of the trade unions to render moral support to one to the other and to make use only of those means which help forward the emancipation of the proletariat. When divergent opinions arise between the two organizations as to the opportunity of certain tactics they should arrive by discussion at an agreement between the two organizations."

"The unions will not fully perform their duty in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers unless a thorough socialist spirit inspires their policy. It is the duty of the party to help the unions to raise the level of the workers and of ameliorating the social conditions. In its parliamentary action the party must vigorously support the demands of the unions."

The congress declares that the development of the capitalist system of production, the increased concentration of the means of production, the growing dependence of particular trades upon the totality of bourgeois society, if considered from the standpoint of the workers, and of ameliorating the social conditions, they took their stand on corporate selfishness and admitted the theory of harmony of interests between labor and capital.

The congress is of the opinion that the unions will be able more successfully to carry on their struggle against exploitation and oppression, in proportion as their organizations are more unified, as their benefit system is improved, as the funds necessary for their struggle are better supplied, and as their members gain a clearer conception of economic relations and conditions and are inspired by the socialist ideal with greater enthusiasm and devotion.

The congress invites all the trade unions that accept the conditions laid down by the Brussels Conference of 1899, ratified by the Paris Congress of 1900, to be represented at the International Congresses and to keep themselves in relation with the International Socialist Bureau. It charges the latter to enter into relations with the International Secretariat of Trade Unions at Berlin so as to exchange information respecting working class organization and the workers' movement.

The congress directs the International Bureau to take the most active part in the study of the relations between trade organizations and the socialist parties in all countries and to present a report on the subject to the next congress."

Many other resolutions were submitted, but afterwards withdrawn in favor of the majority resolution. They were all practically along the same line. Some were in favor of the general strike and others were much opposed

to it, on the ground that when we were ready for it general strikes were at the same time ready for the revolution. The English revolution is of some interest, especially in view of the fact that the English trade and craft unions are organized on much the same lines as the A. F. of L. in America. This resolution was introduced and defended by Mary McArthur, who is an organizer of trade unions in England, and who does not believe in Industrial Unionism. The resolution is as follows:

"The congress being convinced that the working class will only be able to work out its freedom completely by the combined power of trade union and of political action, and in conjunction with the organized socialist parties in their respective nations in order to bring about eventually the overthrow of capitalism."

"Convinced also that this double action is both natural and effective, seeing that when trade unions enter politics their immediate demands and ultimate objects must be the same as those of socialism."

"Considering, further, that this fundamental agreement of the political and of the industrial action of the proletariat is bound to secure without confusion, domination and rivalry, the complete co-operation between the two organizations, invites all militant socialists to do their best to remove all misunderstanding between the trade unionist and the political organizations of the working class."

Resolutions of this kind are generally advocated by organizers who are in the pay of the trade unions. They are anxious to have socialism, but they are not anxious to help build up a true economic movement that will be the real basis of the proletarian struggle. They substitute a class organization that will be the means of setting on foot a true political party. Their highest ambition is to have the craft unionist vote the socialist ticket, permeate their unions with socialism, etc. To show that this plan has not worked out satisfactorily, I will use an extract from the speech of Delegate Romeo, a diamond cutter of Antwerp, Belgium, which also shows that where the political party has gotten strong, the trade unions the trade unionists have then lost its power of initiative and has been dominated by the political party. Here is what the Official Bulletin of the Congress has to say of the remarks of Romeo:

"Citizen Romeo, delegate of the Antwerp diamond cutters, while recognizing that trade unions are a school in which the workers receive useful practical lessons as to the reality of the class war, and agreeing that socialists should propagate their creed within the trade unions, regretted that in Belgium the socialist party dominated these organizations and had deprived them of the faculty of initiative."

The resolution of the French section is probably in closer touch with the ideas of Industrial Unionists than any of the others, inasmuch as it is clearer cut and comes from men who are not afraid to go the limit for what they want, regardless of consequences. These men voted at the finish for the resolution which was submitted by your delegate. The resolution, which is of interest, is as follows:

"The congress being convinced that the working class will only be able to completely work out its freedom by the combined power of political action and of trade union action by syndicalism up to the general strike, and by the quest of political power in order to bring about the general expropriation of capitalism;

"Convinced also that this double action will be all the more effective seeing that these political and the economic organizations will have their full autonomy, trade unionism having the same end in view as socialism;

"Considering further that this fundamental agreement, of the political and of the economic action of the proletariat is bound to secure, without confusion, domination or mistrust, a free co-operation between the two organizations."

"Invites all militant socialists to do their best to dissipate all misunderstanding between the corporate and the political organization of the working class."

As revolutionary as this French resolution sounds, it, like the rest of them, is all moonshine to an Industrial Worker in America. All these resolutions wind up by asking the politicians to try and dissipate all misunderstanding between the trade unions and the political parties. The Industrial Workers of America believes in just the reverse of this. We believe that what Marx said was correct; that "only through the economic organization can a true political party be set on foot." We believe that the political party is merely the reflex of the economic organization. The republican party of America is the reflex of organized capitalists, such as the steel, oil, beef and other large trusts. The democratic party is the reflex of another organized band of capitalists in America, and the socialist who tolerates divisions of the worker, namely, organized scabbing, finds, according to Simons and his colleagues, a place to reflex his beliefs in a political party in America.

The word trade union, as stated in the resolutions from the old countries, does not have the same meaning as trade unions in America. In many places they may mean a form of industrial unionism, not a form as far reaching as the I. W. W., but a closer union of the workers than applied to a trade union in America. For instance, in Switzerland the metal workers and the wood workers are industrially organized, especially the metal workers, who are a very revolutionary body of men.

Although the majority resolution which was passed may not meet with as much favor among our members as our own, yet it is a resolution that no one can fight under and at the same time mention here, owing to the fact that it instructed its delegates to the Stuttgart congress to stand for revolutionary unionism. These delegates realized that nothing could be accomplished until a

revolutionary economic organization was established.

Our organization was ably introduced in the emigration and immigration commission by Delegate Bohn, who was formerly an organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World. Much dissatisfaction was shown by the delegates on this commission to the high initiation fees charged foreigners in America by the A. F. of L. When the Industrial Workers' organization was explained to them they were very much interested, and all agreed that it was correct.

Although it is a long and expensive trip for our organization to undertake in sending a delegate to Stuttgart, yet I believe that much good will come from it. It is deplorable that two factions should be represented at the congress, one voting in open congress against the other, and that men who claim to be socialists (as Simons was) accusing us before delegates from all over the world of disuniting the workers in America. The actions of these men will only reflect themselves and their party in the near future.

As the delegates who were representing unions at the congress were anxious to know more about the Industrial Workers of the World in America, our literature was anxiously requested for, and the only difficulty I met with was in not having enough to meet the demand.

While in Berne, Switzerland, on my way to Genoa to take the boat, and where I stayed for several days, I had several meetings with the secretary of the Syndicalist movement in Switzerland. This is a class-conscious body of workers numbering 70,000 persons. While at Berne I made arrangements for the exchange of our Bulletin with four of the European labor papers, including Switzerland, Austria, Italy and Germany. The translating will be looked after by Mrs. Faas of Berne, who is a staunch advocate of the I. W. W., and who spoke in favor of our resolution at the congress. She is secretary and translator of the Swiss Syndicalist movement, and through her we will have no trouble in getting our organization well advertised in many of the European labor journals. I consider this an important move, as through this line of communication the workers in Europe will become acquainted with the Industrial Workers of the World, our form of organization and the work we are carrying on, so that when they arrive in America, which many of them will, they will not be taken for woodhewers and robbed by the A. F. of L.

There is no doubt but that when the next congress meets at Copenhagen our organization will be thoroughly understood by the workers in Europe. The congress will have all organizations of labor which have accepted the class struggle to become affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau, and to keep in closer touch with the Bureau. With the one recommendation that we accept these invitations, I will close my report on the trade union question. The other propositions which were discussed by the congress I will take up through the columns of the weekly Bulletin.

Respectfully submitted,  
FRED W. HESLEWOOD.

**Report to the Convention by Fred W. Heslewood**

aged 2 cents each to the Moyer-Haywood defense fund and because of this magnificent burst of philanthropy, O'Neill refused to print an article in the "Worker" Magazine written by St. John in the Goldfield affair, because St. John was not saying nice things of Grant Hamilton, the king of all scabs and strike breakers, and known as an official organizer of the A. F. of L.

ORGANIZATION.

In the matter of organization in the northwest for the coming year, I believe the most effective work can be done among the lumber workers, both in the woods and in the saw mills. The Pacific coast especially offers the greatest inducement, owing to the great number of Finnish workers employed, and as a great majority of these men are revolutionarily inclined, they are very susceptible to Industrial Unionism. To do this work effectively a Finnish organizer should be employed, one who is a thorough revolutionist, and also acquainted with the lumber industry. I believe it is an entire waste of money at the present time to keep paid organizers in cities where the A. F. of L. has the workers divided and organized into crafts. We are not financially able to tear down this barrier of fakersism at present. I do not mean that we should not fight it. I mean that we should pay special attention to the lumber industry, before they too are rent into fragments by the American Federation of Labor.

The present organization should be employed in the state of Montana. The lumber workers in that state have been trusting to a few men to look after their business, and there is no doubt but that these leaders have looked after themselves and neglected the workers. Whatever false impressions have been made on the workers these can be easily offset in the near future by the right man getting among them. These men look to the Butte miners to assist them in their troubles, and when the scheme of organizing them direct into Western Federation locals was sprung, they were anxious to be enrolled. This was another trick of the reactionists to keep the lumber jacks from getting next to the true conditions in the I. W. W. McMullin, of Butte, together with some other friends of Sherman in Missoula were behind this move which is conclusive proof that Sherman knew that he could not hold these men any longer.

It was after I had succeeded in turning most of the locals in Montana against Sherman that this plan of action was adopted by the fakers. I immediately went to Butte in advance of a Missoula committee of Shermentists and met miners at several of their meetings and succeeded to some extent in disrupting the fakers' plans. McMullin again brought the matter up at the Denver convention, but through the efforts of our advocates the proposition was tabled, much to the chagrin of McMullin. Before another attempt is made to keep the workers there from their right course a strong organizer ought to be placed among them.

A great many subscriptions were secured for the weekly "Bulletin" in the state of Montana and there is no doubt but what good results will be obtained through this source. The "Bulletin" is largely responsible for clearing the minds of many of our workers in the city of Butte. I consider it the duty of every member and especially of the organizers to push the "Bulletin" along so that it may in the near future be increased in size. Many of our members in the west have looked after the subscription list of other periodicals in preference to the "Bulletin." I believe that the "Bulletin" should take precedence over all other papers, so that a strong economic organization can be built up, which, when it is, will have no trouble in finding its reflex in a true political party.

## DISCUSSION ON POLITICAL PARTIES.

Much harm has been created in the past year over the discussion of the different political parties. Great care should be exercised by our members and especially the organizers to keep down as much as possible any bitterness among the members on account of politics. There is no particular hurry about the political side of our organization. Our economic organization is kept clean there will be no need to worry about the proper ballot box. The matter class may yet use the weapon of dividing the members of our organization by having their paid agents introduce the subject of the merits and demerits of the different political organizations, for the express purpose of disrupting the union. So let us not be caught in traps of this kind and make our organization the easy prey of Pinkertons.

## OFFICE OF PRESIDENT.

In conclusion, I would seriously recommend the re-establishing of the office of chief organizer or president, not that I believe we should make a mistake in abolishing the office a year ago, but because I believe it is absolutely necessary to have a person in our organization whose sole duty it is to look after the movements of the organizers. It is impossible for the secretary to look after this work properly and attend to his other duties. The chief organizer or president could act as an organizer himself and attend to places where the organization is the most vigorously assailed.

The constitution may be so arranged that the officers be elected by the convention, the newly elected ones to take office immediately after election.

With these few recommendations for your earnest consideration and trusting that my successor in office may receive the same courteous treatment that I have, this report is respectfully submitted.

FRED W. HESLEWOOD,  
Member General Executive Board.

## Resolution on Women's Suffrage

The International Socialist Congress resolved as follows:

"The congress greets with the utmost pleasure the first International Socialist Women's Conference and expresses its entire solidarity with the demands concerning Woman's suffrage, put forward by it. The congress, in particular, declares:

"It is the duty of socialist parties of all countries to agitate most energetically for the introduction of universal womanhood suffrage. The socialist parties repudiate limited women's suffrage as an adulteration of and a caricature upon the principle of political equality of the female sex. It fights for the sole living concrete expression of this principle, namely, universal womanhood suffrage, which should belong to all women of age and not be conditioned by property, taxation, education or any other qualification which would exclude members of the laboring classes from the enjoyment of this right. The socialist women shall not carry on the struggle for complete equality of right of vote in alliance with the middle class women suffragists, but in common with the Socialists parties, which insists upon women suffrage and one of the fundamental and most important reforms for the full democratization of political franchise in general.

It is the duty of the Socialist parties of all countries to agitate strenuously for the introduction of universal womanhood suffrage. Hence, the agitation for the democratization of the franchise to the legislative and administrative bodies, both national and local, must also embrace woman's suffrage and must insist upon it, whether it be carried on in parliament or elsewhere.

where the democratization of womanhood suffrage has already gone sufficiently far or is completely realized, the Socialist parties must raise a campaign in favor of universal womanhood suffrage and in connection with it put forward all those demands which we have yet to realize in the interest of the full civil rights of the male portion of the proletariat.

Although the International Socialist Congress cannot dictate to any country a particular time at which a suffrage campaign should be commenced, it nevertheless declares that when such a campaign is instituted in any country the democratic lines of universal adult suffrage without distinction and nothing less.

## Shall The Miners Always Be Slaves?

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## PROCEEDINGS

## THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

STENOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED.

The proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the I. W. W., held at Chicago, September 16 to 24 inclusive, has been printed in newspaper form and issued daily while the Convention was in Session. The general headquarters can fill a limited number of orders for the Report. There are eight issues, running from four to eight pages.

Price for the Complete File, 80c. ORDER NOW.

## Wages and Profits Not Measured by Yardsticks

Fellow Worker Thompson, in Bulletin No. 22, seems greatly disturbed over a few remarks of mine in a former number of The Bulletin. Economics may be a science, as he claims, but when a man disputes the actual experience of tens of thousands of people, because this experience does not agree with something he has read in a book, it reminds one of the "high tariff and big wages" talk of our republican politicians who are ever ready to call any man a fool who disputes the fact that the tariff is in the interest of the manufacturers exclusively. What we learn by actual experience is of greater value to us than what we learn from books, and the man who allows a statement in a book to blind his eyes to a present fact, is in a bad way indeed. The law of supply and demand surely has much to do in determining wages, but the cost of production, no more determines the selling price of things than brakes on wagons determine their speed. If goods were sold at actual cost of production, profits would be impossible. That cost of production does not fix the rate of profit is proven in the fact that profits are known to range from 5 to 500 per cent, unless we are to disbelieve our senses. And by the term cost of production, is here meant what it costs the employer in wages to have a thing produced, for surely we cannot have our figures on the selling price, and call this the cost of production. What is paid out in wages, and the cost of the raw material, constitutes the cost of production in the mind of the majority of men, and it is well to speak to the masses in terms of their own language. When we come to figure the first cost of a machine, and to figure on the life of that machine, we are going into details that do not interest the masses, for the life of a machine is much like the life of a wage slave—the length of its life depends upon its original constitution and the treatment it is subjected to, just as the man who eats poison food, to also do they put poor material into many of the labor saving machines manufactured today, and the problem of figuring the life of a machine is about as uncertain as the problem of trying to figure the life or length of it, of the individual wage slave.

And since wages rise and fall, the cost of production is variable. And since Comrade Thompson appears to think that I spoke without reflection, when I said that the present rise in wages does not benefit the wage workers, I would ask him what iron law there is to prevent organized capitalists from granting say 10 per cent advance in wages, and at the same time raise the price of the product 15 or 20 per cent? Do you know of any fixed natural law to prevent this? I am free to confess that I have not spent as much time in studying what other men have said about this thing or that, as I have in studying the actual facts that appear to me from day to day; and if what appears true to me today looks differently tomorrow, I am not bound to those ideas of yesterday, nor shall I ever suffer myself to be.

One thing I think I have discovered relative to wages, and that is that he forever and always refers to commercial value, and never to real or intrinsic value; for were he speaking of intrinsic value, he would hardly be blind enough to place a price in dollars and cents at the end of such value, for this value cannot be expressed in such terms. There is as much difference between these values as there is between superstition and the science of mathematics. The one is as variable as the wind, while the other never changes. The cost of production, the average human labor time required to produce a thing, has no relation to intrinsic value, only in so far as it affects the quality, a fact no man can dispute. The food value of a given quantity and quality of flour, or any other article of food, remains the same from year to year, from age to age, while its commercial value or selling price changes as often as men change their minds or their socks. The commercial value of a thing is what it sells for or will sell for, and this is not in fixed relation to the cost of production, a fact any one may know for himself. Here is a merchant selling a certain grade of shoe for \$3.25 that can be bought for \$3 other places, regardless of the fact that he pays neither freight on his goods nor rent on his store. And on the same street, and even in the same block, the prices of certain articles vary, being 5 or 10 cents more or less in this store or that. Do we see a fixed law here? A law with a thousand exceptions, looks more

like a whim than a law. It may not please Comrade Thompson to know that many regard his "working class economics" as dreams, dreams that are too dull to relate. And I do not say this with malice in my heart. It is of slight benefit or profit to us, to be told that twenty yards of linen are equivalent to one coat, when actual experience teaches us that it may be so to-day, but not to-morrow, for where men are the factors fluctuating and variation is the rule.

In figuring on these things, we would need to figure on the laziness of some workers, the natural sloveness of others, while a third class we would find over-scrupulous, and really work too hard, and all for the purpose of holding their jobs and pleasing their bosses. It is a pretty sure proposition that the average reader will understand my meaning before they will understand Comrade Thompson's economics, for men are more interested in that which strikes at existing evils, than in the explanation of theories. What men are not interested in hearing, they are not interested in reading. Repeat your economics to your audiences and see how long you can hold them. The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

Here is a man who buys potatoes for 50 cents a bushel, and he sells them for a dollar and a half a bushel. The law most prominent here is the law of greed, and it is hard to either define or confine. If one man owned everything, his will would be the law, and he could do as he pleased. We have no better way under the present order or disorder of things, of determining the commercial value of a thing than by the price we are compelled to pay for that thing. Behold Rockefeller and his oil, and Bacc and his coal! What have the people to do with determining the price of either coal or oil? Precious little! Nor have the wage slaves that work for these masters, much to say as to what wages they shall receive for their work, for just outside the gates stand thousands of hungry men ready to take their places for any wages that may be offered. And just to the degree that we can, by united action, reduce the size of this army of idle men and women, may we hope to benefit the masses in this country under the capitalist system. If there were a job for every worker, the worker could have a voice in the matter of his wages.

I may be a fool, but if so, there are hundreds of thousands just like me, and it is for Comrade Thompson and others of his mental caliber to enlighten us. But it is not the province of any man to dictate to me what I shall write or not write, providing I write only what I believe. And if I write what I do not believe, then I ought to be clubbed instead of scolded. We learn the truth, not by reading, but by meditation, and by discussing those questions that rise before us, with others. The man is a knave and a hypocrite who will give assent to that which he does not believe, even though the thing be the truth. And if one waits for time and experience to prove his ideas right or wrong, he would be of no service to his fellowman, and a dissatisfaction to himself. Comrade Thompson may know all there is to know about economics, but he is as blind as a bat regarding mental growth and understanding, otherwise he would not ask me to hold back what they actually believe to be true, for the truth is a light by free discussion. To imagine that readers will be blinded by one man's opinions, when others are free to give theirs, is to live in fear of that which can never be. An opinion or theory, not taken up and analyzed, is not known to be either false or true.

To return to value: The air we breathe is of greater intrinsic value to us than all the gold in existence, and it would be of greater commercial value if it could be controlled by corporations and trusts. There is nothing supernatural about human labor, and if wages grew on trees, and some one owned the trees, these wages would command a price, and they would be a demand for the law of free competition, or the law of commercial value, for price is commercial value expressed in terms of dollars and cents. What is the demand for a new jackknife soars above my demand, or, in other words, if his desire for a large profit is greater than my desire for a new knife, I will manage to get along with my old one. To-morrow, however, this merchant agrees to take 25 cents less for his knife, and I throw away my old one and take the new one. We cannot tell from day to day what men will pay for such articles as they can manage to get along without. In such cases supply cannot figure on steady

demand. The seller here is largely at the mercy of the buyer. Toys, paintings, pictures and fancy wares may be included in this class. But when it comes to food and clothes, the case is reversed. The buyer is at the mercy of the seller. Misrepresentation, cheating and lying are not measurable quantities; and the purpose of lying and misrepresentation is to increase profits in business transactions, and failures do not always mark the effort. It is impossible to figure the number of such failures and successes, but the fact that success marks the effort at any one time makes our yardsticks of exact measurements well-nigh useless. To figure the commercial value or selling price of a thing in the markets of the world, is about as hard a problem as to compute the number of liars and falsifiers, and their powers of persuasion. Take the auctioneer, for instance. He is a trained liar; it is a part of his business to make brass look brighter than gold, and he often succeeds in so doing. That sober reflection reveals the cheat, does not alter the facts.

A law that varies with the appetites and desires of men, and that is affected by lying, cheating and stealing, and that is swayed by the wind and the weather, but the swiftness of the road trains, by the speed of machines, by the health and feelings of men from day to day, by what they read and by what they discuss, and that is materially affected by pills and powders, never looked to me like a law. These could be defined, measured or confined. Now is not commercial value affected by all the things I have named? If not, then the writer is a fit subject for the lunatic asylum, and ought not to be at large. Let the Industrial Union decide the question. Men's desires, their whims and their fancies, will not and cannot affect intrinsic value, a fact no sane man will dispute. The sack of flour of given quantity and quality, has the same intrinsic value, regardless of whether it was produced in one hour of average human labor time, or in one hundred hours, and whether sold for one dollar or one hundred dollars. And it will sustain the life of the philosopher and the fool alike, and is of the same incommensurable value to both the child and the idiot. This flour would have the same value if dropped down from the clouds, with no human labor involved, and I have seen water sold that had no human labor stored up in it. It commanded a price for the simple reason that it was the only water for miles around, and an individual owned the land, and the hot desert and the overflow.

To get this water at all, you must dig it up as it runs from the ground, and for your time of digging and drinking you were charged forty cents a day for what you could drink. Commercial value is an arbitrary thing; in a high state of civilization it would have no meaning whatever, for then the law would be, to each according to his needs. That the average labor time required to produce the various articles and food stuffs sold in the markets of the world ought to guide us in exchanging one thing for another, I freely admit; that it does not do so, that this rule is not followed, ought to be apparent to any one who reads and thinks. Marx law of value would work admirably in a socialist state, but it is not worth a picayune in a capitalist state. The supply on hand, and the demand for it, is the law of value (in Italian) under the rule of capitalism. The poverty of the painter compels him to part with his painting for a mere pittance. The rich capitalist who takes advantage of his hunger, takes this same painting and sells it for \$50,000. If there is any other law that gives a thing commercial value, than that of human desire (your desire is your demand), then the writer freely confesses that he is incapable of either seeing it or understanding it. The available supply on hand and the demand for it, fixes its commercial price. Every manufactured article that passes from the hand of a capitalist, leaves a profit in his hands, and his power and his greed for gain are balanced against my desire to buy and my ability to pay. And since these are variable, "working class economics" are very uninteresting, and less profitable than many other things that present themselves for our solution. With best wishes for all who are striving to overthrow this cursed capitalist system, I am,

Yours fraternally,  
FRANK REED.  
Eureka, Cal.

The "Handbook and Analysis of the Preamble" has been printed in Italian and will be sent at cost price to any address—5c extra in Italy. We have the "Address to Miners," a sixteen-page pamphlet, at cost price, 12c per hundred; single copy, 3 cents.

## Competition and Exploitation in the Railway Service

BY W. M. J. PINKERTON

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(Continued)

To analyze these figures so that they will be more generally understood it will be observed that average yearly salaries paid to "general officers" amounted to \$2,802, a monthly rating of \$233.50. Those classed as "other officers" averaged a yearly salary of \$2,010, a monthly rating of \$167.50. Engineers in wages averaged \$1,314 per year, a monthly wage of \$109.50; firemen receiving as compensation an average of \$736 per year, an average monthly wage of \$61.33, and those known as "other trainmen" were paid on an average of \$707 a year, a monthly wage of about \$59.

The object in adding the firemen and "other trainmen" to the high salaried list is that they hold a position of affiliation with what they are pleased to term as "low wage workers," and like barnacles have attached themselves to the hulks of the few aristocrats in the other movements, which has a tendency to hold them in subjection. It also makes the average of the two extremes more equitable, allowing as it does the machinists and boiler-makers to be classed with the low wage workers. These figures may appear ridiculous to the average workers in the high wage districts, but if they will examine the reports of the Commissioners by districts, pages 44 to 48 inclusive, it will be observed that the United States is divided into ten groups, as follows:

- Group 1. Includes Maine, Massachusetts and Vermont.
- Group 2. Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey and New York.
- Group 3. Michigan, Indiana and Ohio.
- Group 4. West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina.
- Group 5. Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida.
- Group 6. Parts of North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois and part of Missouri.
- Group 7. Montana, Wyoming, parts of Colorado, parts of North and South Dakota and Nebraska.
- Group 8. Includes Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Indian Territory, Arkansas and part of New Mexico.
- Group 9. Includes Texas, Louisiana and part of New Mexico.
- Group 10. Includes Washington, Oregon, Idaho, California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona.

The following tables will show the average daily wage according to the above groups, Table I showing the high salaried and high wage workers, and Table II the low wage workers:

	TABLE I. High Salaried and High Wage Workers.									
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
General officers.....	11.92	10.50	12.11	9.92	10.88	13.00	10.01	10.90	7.54	10.88
Other officers.....	6.22	6.05	6.45	4.39	4.90	7.50	8.42	8.88	4.77	7.21
Engineers.....	1.11	1.05	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Firemen.....	0.80	0.78	0.88	0.77	0.81	0.90	0.74	0.84	0.50	0.40
Other trainmen.....	2.02	2.33	2.33	1.95	2.00	2.70	1.78	2.00	2.50	2.50

	TABLE II. Low Wage Workers.									
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
General office clerks.....	2.04	2.41	2.27	1.87	2.00	2.15	2.12	2.13	2.25	2.48
Italian apiles.....	1.03	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Other stationers.....	1.83	1.79	1.70	1.00	1.37	1.00	1.81	1.78	1.74	2.27
Mechanics.....	2.41	2.42	2.33	2.51	2.20	2.59	1.80	2.07	2.00	2.27
Carpenters.....	2.11	2.20	2.17	2.00	2.01	2.54	2.40	2.40	2.51	2.78
Other shopmen.....	1.88	1.80	1.80	1.80	1.80	1.80	1.80	1.80	1.80	1.80
Section foremen.....	2.40	2.40	2.40	2.40	2.40	2.40	2.40	2.40	2.40	2.40
Other foremen.....	1.40	1.30	1.42	0.97	1.02	1.45	1.47	1.37	1.21	1.47
Switchmen, crossing men & watchmen.....	1.87	1.67	1.00	1.32	1.63	2.10	2.08	2.12	2.07	2.06
Dispatchers and telegraph operators.....	1.94	2.25	1.84	1.72	1.84	2.11	2.24	2.32	2.35	2.55
Employers' families.....	1.27	1.27	1.27	1.00	1.2	2.05	2.20	2.28	2.01	2.58
Laborers and other employees.....	1.72	1.08	1.83	1.40	1.87	2.01	2.10	1.70	1.77	2.22

It will be observed by those in the high wage states embraced in Groups 6, 7, 8, 9, to that their fortunate fellow-workers in a great many states of the remaining groups are paid wages and salaries which when compared with the rapidly rising prices of the necessities of life, are not sufficient to furnish the ordinary means of existence, let alone the comforts of a home. This also substantiates the assertion that the average of \$630 a year does not represent the average yearly wage of the low wage worker, to provide which it is necessary to return to the total number of workers in employment on the railways in 1904, which was 1,296,121, and deduct from this number the self-styled aristocracy of labor, numbering 264,374. This will leave in the balance 1,031,747 low wage workers. The total compensation in 1904 of all workers was \$817,958,810. This amount, deducted from the total paid to all employees leaves a balance of \$653,225,072 to be divided among the low wage workers, making their average for the year \$545, a practically monthly average of \$45 5-12 per month, an average on which it is expected that 1,031,747 workers will devise a means to eke out a miserable existence.

As commercialism developed, and the extreme low wages in some districts as compared with others, demonstrated a fact that has been repeatedly brought to the workers' attention, namely, that the workers are on the verge of return to the extremes that existed under feudalism. Extremes when applied to the present system mean industrial lords, middle class and industrial workers. Under the feudal system the wage slave was aware of his position, but he was not aware of the following oath: "I become your man from this day forward, of life and limb, and of earthly worship, and unto you shall be true and faithful, and bear to you faith for the tenements that I claim to hold of you, saving the faith that I owe unto my sovereign lord the king." Under feudalism the lords claimed ownership of the land, and the serfs by permission of the lords were allowed to till the soil, for which they in turn bartered their lives as defenders of the master's property. The burgher or bourgeoisie under feudalism were composed of artisans, professional men and merchants. The artisans were the manufacturers by the individual tools (of which they were also the owners) of all of the comforts and necessities of life, and the merchants, who at first, it might be said, only the travel, were salesmen of the feudal lords, and developed a system of commercialism which made them a power; no longer exchanging the surplus production between countries in the interest of the lords, they through a system of underbidding and education demonstrated to the producers that if they could handle the surplus products direct from them to the markets of the world that they, the producers, would derive undreamed of benefits, and hence the advent of commercialism.

The lords of feudalism were a self-constituted body of law-makers; they compiled laws, laying on the shoulders of the bourgeoisie the burdens of taxation; they performed no useful function except that of poisoning the empire or kingdom in times of peace, the rest of their time being occupied in quarrels, feuds and warring on each other. The bourgeoisie, as commercialism developed, perceiving the great injustice perpetrated on them, raised a cry of "no taxation without representation" or voice in government. As a result wars followed, kingdoms and empires were overturned. Cromwell's cry was exemplified when the American colonies of Great Britain protested against taxation without representation, using it as a basis on which the structure of the independence of the colonies was erected. It might have been delayed if the advice of William Pitt, who led the opposition to King George III and Lord North, had been listened to. In my opinion, "the American Revolution" has no right to lay a tax on the colonies. America is an obstinate kingdom almost in open rebellion! Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. If I were an American, as I am a British subject, I would never sheath the sword until relieved from these degrading conditions. The downfall of the feudal system can be attributed to the power vested in the bourgeoisie, controlling that which they produced by their owning the tools of production, and any other great revolution must use the same means to be a success. Hence the Industrial Unionism of today, to which the Industrial Worker has pinned his faith.

As commercialism developed we find feudalism giving way to the political democracy. Under the political system we have three classes (slowly but surely merging into two under the approaching industrial system), namely, industrial lords, the bourgeoisie (representing a wealthier but not as industrious a type as his fellow of the feudal system), and the Industrial Worker. The industrial lords control all of the tools of production concentrated into modern factories. The bourgeoisie or modern middlemen, produce nothing and have neither skill nor tools with which to produce; they are therefore rapidly going to decay and are straining every fiber to preserve themselves through the rottenness of the present political system as represented by the Cleveland and Roosevelt. The bourgeoisie, like the feudal lords, are Vanderbilts, Goulds, Arnolds, Swifts, Fricks, Moores, by concentrating and socially owning the tools of production between them, and by subscribing liberally to the purchase of political power, are able to use it to react against the bourgeoisie of today; the state being the reverse of the feudal state, when the middlemen owned and operated their own tools. The bourgeoisie of today, being capitalists, are power-hungry, and are greedy.

The industrial lords, owning and controlling the tools of production as well as the means of distribution, are using every endeavor to control indirectly the political government, preferring to accomplish their designs through the bourgeoisie, as to secure direct control at least too rapidly might precipitate revolution of the middle class, a class they prefer to use as a political tool, and when that class makes any endeavor to overstep its bounds the screws are immediately applied, calling a halt, as forcibly brought to the attention of the workers in the reported discussion between Morgan and Harriman in their combination to balk Roosevelt. The industrial lords, parading to secure control of the government through their corrupt machines by money, are so far advanced that state and national legislatures, supreme court judges, ministers of the gospel and the press are found worshipping at

(Continued on Fourth Page)

## Woolen Weavers Strike

The following is a list of contributions received by Local No. 166, of Mapleville, R. I., during the strike of the woolen weavers of the Coromet mills, which was stubbornly contested for 10 weeks and recently ended:

Local 379, Skowhegan, Me., list 13, \$8.50; Scotia mill, Woonsocket, list 38, \$22.75; Lippitt mill, Woonsocket, list 42, \$16.35; Montrose mill, Woonsocket, list 41, \$9; Nasenville mill, balance on lists 23, 24, \$2; Tarklin, lists 71-73, \$20.50; I. W. W. Local 157, New Bedford, Mass., \$10; Woonsocket, by Pauline J. M., J. K., list 299, \$28.50; I. W. W., Woonsocket, Local No. 513, \$10; Textile union, Olneyville, \$25; Blackstone, by R. T., list 25, \$3.05; Woonsocket, by F. S., list 56, \$5.25; Chepachet, list 310, \$14; Pascoag, White mill, list 302, \$21.05; list 240, \$13.40; collection, Tarklin mill, list 10; Montrose mill, Woonsocket, list 295, \$2; collection in Woonsocket, by J. M., \$8.10; Scotia mill, by J. K., list 297 and 298, \$19; I. W. W. Local 152, \$5; Olneyville, by E. Crepeau, list 237-30, \$9.20; list 236, by E. Crepeau, \$2.70; I. W. W. Local 51, \$5; Holyoke, Mass., list 238, by D. O'Leary, \$5; Greenville, lists 110-235, \$17.50; collection, Chepachet mill, \$6.50; benefit baseball game, Harrisville, \$8.80; collection, Glendale mill, by E. J., \$12; Woonsocket, Mass., collection by J. Bedard, \$8; Baltic, Conn., lists 124-125, by J. B., \$31; Olneyville, collection by Textile union, \$25; I. W. W. Local 160, \$1; Greenville, lists 128-129, \$13.50; Philadelphia, lists 112-113, by E. C. \$6.25; Baltic, Conn., lists 133-134, by J. B., \$22; Rockville, Conn., by E. S., \$2; Woonsocket, list 54, by B. S., \$3.75; I. W. W., Olneyville, list 132, \$1.20; Pascoag, by L., list 48, \$3.75; Rockville, Conn., collected at S. I. P., \$1.20; Lawrence, Mass., by P. D., list 101, \$5; I. W. W. Local 513, Woonsocket, \$26.47; Providence, list No. 1, \$1.25; I. W. W. Local 530, Olneyville, \$10; I. W. W. Local 157, New Bedford, Mass., \$10; cash from Crepeau, \$2.75; collection in Pascoag, by J. P. T., \$2.75; collection in Tarklin mill, \$15; Mapleville, list 19, \$3.75; cash from Fred O. Charest, Oakland, \$15; cash from C. A. Powell, Mapleville, \$5; Olneyville, list 52, by Crepeau, \$5.40; Providence, list 12, \$6; Pascoag, list 47, \$1.25; cash from Baltic, Conn., by J. Besette, \$40.82; Olneyville Textile Union, list 4-5-7, \$25; collection in Pascoag, by R. L., list 15, \$4.75; Woonsocket, Scotia mill, by R. L., \$2.75; collection, by Crepeau, list 44, \$2.85; collection by Crepeau, list 44, \$5.55; Lawrence, Mass., I. W. W. Local 20, \$7; Nasenville mill, \$15.25; D. Troisfontaine, Woonsocket, list 53, \$1.75. Contributions were also made by J. A. Tougas, Globe Clothing Company, Lafayette Shoe Company and Mulvey's hat store, in Woonsocket.

## Industrial Unionism in Great Britain

From the report of the Socialist Labor party of Great Britain to the International Congress at Stuttgart we extract the following reference to the Industrial Union movement:

"The Socialist Labor party has, since its very inception, labored unceasingly to promote the unity of the working class, politically and economically. Unlike other parties claiming the title of socialist, we have perceived right through-out the existence of the party that the question of the economic organization of the working class could not be ignored; that the existing unions, organized upon a craft basis, were the enemy of the solidarity of labor, excluding the mass of the workers from their ranks, 'arbitrating,' 'conciliating,' propagating capitalist economics and politics, would have to be attacked; would have to be fought like any other capitalist institution, and their places taken by an Industrial Union—a union based upon revolutionary principles; a union which would organize the workers as a class, Industrial Workers of the World, the title founded in Chicago, we hailed its advent with unfeigned joy. Since then the propaganda of Industrial Unionism has spread like wildfire through Great Britain.

## LEARN WHAT IT IS

To know what Industrial Unionism is you must read what is said about it by its friends and what it says for itself; only in that way can its present aims and ultimate purposes be understood. The following are recommended to workingmen who desire to learn what Industrial Unionism is:

Handbook of Industrial Unionism, 5c  
Constitution of the I. W. W., 5c  
Report of Secretary Treutmann, 5c  
"Industrial Unionism," Address by W. M. J. Pinkerton, 5c  
"Burning Question of Trades Unionism," By Dr. De Leon, 5c  
"Address on I. W. W. Preamble," By Dr. De Leon, 5c  
Sent to any address, prepaid, for 25c

WM. E. TRAUTMANN  
212 BUSH TEMPLE  
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